

this study. To Dr. Franz Boas the writer is grateful and wishes to express his thanks here for the opportunity of examining old Comanche data.

AGE

The age distribution of the subjects examined is given below. A disproportionate number of the male full-bloods are in the higher age brackets due to the almost hopeless task of distinguishing full-bloods among the young. As a rule, however, the old men were remarkably well preserved; wherever there was a chance of a physical ailment or decrepitude influencing a measurement or observation, a notation to that effect was made or the item was altogether omitted.

Age distribution

YEARS	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD
	Male	Female	Male
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
21 to 30	5.3	4.-	12.5
31 to 40	5.3	16.-	12.5
41 to 50	31.6	24.-	18.8
51 to 60	15.8	36.-	50.-
61 to 70	26.3	20.-	6.2
71 to 80	15.8		
Average	56.8y.	52.-y.	48.4y.
Minimum	26	28	28
Maximum	80 ¹	70	61

¹ One man, head measurements only.

DESCRIPTIVE OBSERVATIONS*

Color of skin. The most common color of the skin in both sexes was medium- to reddish-brown on the face, and light-brown on the unexposed medial surface of the upper arm. The skin of the females, in general, appeared somewhat lighter in both regions. There was practically no difference between the full- and probable full-bloods.

* In the following, the term Comanche and all observations and measurements will refer to the full-bloods only, unless otherwise stated.

551 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, *ta'koni' one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, *naiviwá' one with no beauty*, 73. Of these 175 persons,¹⁴⁶ 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44-103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41-85 years. The average age for both men and women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, *tuini'pi' young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvochuky, *mavicu'ki' one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, *'i'kiveti' new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, *tisoyó' one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wabbitty, *wihtikwavi'ti' arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, *tanisutai' one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

¹⁴⁶ Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40-44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45-49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50-54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55-59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60-64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65-69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70-74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75-79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

[P. 246-A]

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SSI ?ahá?, is also called ?e?há-wi?, a meaningless word.

SSI White surnames liberally sprinkle the Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.

S63 [162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche.

[641] SSI Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Treving, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[S63] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener, Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quannah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

[Ca. 1818]

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanches are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

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I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

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The tribe known among us by the term Comanches, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

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Comanches, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanches, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

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*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

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(ca. 1818.)
of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanche parade, will not suspect a coup d'oeil estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[The Cincinnati Literary Gazette, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks.
101 These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally
133 extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the
Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are
175 found among the Comanches and are, in no respect dis-
101 similar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but
184 are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and
are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more
162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more
ooo than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the 657 Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-eee went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

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643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real
head of the Comanches.⁴ Years of warfare with white men and
643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion
178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza-
619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not
657 been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially
578 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en-
counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil-
181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no
178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis-
[657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es-
[162] tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties
of Wacoos, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together
with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of
the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand
and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the In-
dians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the
657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.⁵ But not-
648 withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about
two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time
and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an
unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a
blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief
648 Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the
439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a
certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were
648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any-
thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly,
mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white
people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it
on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly
as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk
from his friend."⁶

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border*, (New York, 1866)
p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854* (Phila-
delphia, 1864) p. 188.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 3, 1855.
Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of
January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1,
Part 1, 502.

657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
(557) dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two
most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and
Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at
large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one
occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a
fair average for the whole period.⁹ Evidently many Indians came
and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to
hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
643 away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
578 frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-
1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen
in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving
at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves
could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men
could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
657 given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could
643 not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
273 Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner
that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furn-
ish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And
they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had re-
formed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest In-
dian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak
in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made
him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions
he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

⁹ The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 460; September 8, 1856, 657; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 891; September 16, 1858, 871; October 30, 1858, 841; July, 1859, 822.

648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.⁴² But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.⁴³ However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

662 The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches took away with them live stock worth \$9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of \$14,922.50.⁴⁴ The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between \$61,655.25, for 1857, and

113 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Eussala, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 645-671.

113 43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

113 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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sant war was to be made on the Apache.³ The Comanche conducted their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

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In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.⁴ Elsewhere in his reports⁵ Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Río Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado⁶ of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Río Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square. Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

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³ *Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86"* (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This *Relacion*, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply *Relacion* with paragraph number.

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The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this *Relacion* and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

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⁴ This *Noticia* is an enclosure accompanying the above *Relacion* in Tomo 65 of the *Provincias Internas*. With this *Noticia* there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

⁵ *Relacion*, paragraphs 2 and 3.

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⁶ The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (*Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392-420*).

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,⁷ then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.⁸ The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787-1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.⁹

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.¹⁰ It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

⁷ Informe de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104-6-23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

⁸ For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780, 1: 79-122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89-90, 121-133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650-1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

⁹ H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129-133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

¹⁰ The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

POLYGAMY IN COMANCHE COUNTRY

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simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law. 595
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Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comancheria, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595
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In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continuous warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

POLYGAMY IN COMANCHE COUNTRY

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In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cranny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mistreated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood brother's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Comanches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women. And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and purchase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered, gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

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658**GOVERNMENT**

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162 Population:
Indians residing
on or adjacent to
reservation: 3,300
162 Labor Force:
464 Total: 551
Unemployed: 125
Unemployment
rate: 23%
891 Education:
(tribal estimates)
Average grade
level achieved: 9th
Number graduated
from college in
1972: 11

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NA12
Iroquois NM9

122 [A] University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1
ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-eat membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281 ^a	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	23	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133 ^b	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—	—
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

^a Including Douglas County.

^b Including Benton and Leming.

^c Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

TABLE 2
PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES
(From Newberry, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45 ^a
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

^a Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Hupah, Wash. September 11, 1888.

(Continued on next page)

162
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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Winnebago NR12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NR12
Iroquois NM9

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism

123 [A]

TABLE 2—(Continued)

Tribes—(Continued)	Peyotists (percentage)	
	I	O
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5	0
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90	0
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50	0
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50	0
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20	0
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5	0
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60	0
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16	0
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7	0
Eastern Shawnee, Ottawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2	0
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10	0
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5	0
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5 ^b	0
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35	0
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90 ^b	0
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38	0
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20	0

^b Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1939.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3), the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the general cate- 500

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	748 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			96 Active	150 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	2.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	12.1	10.9	6.7	13.8